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Rise *and* Reign of the
Bourbon Oligarchy

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of Alabama



September, 1904

“Continual aggression is a necessity of a false position.”
—Hon. John Hay.

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Rise and Reign of the Bourbon Oligarchy

CHAPTER I.

THE ANTE-BELLUM POLITICAL SOUTH.

“The compromises on the slavery question, inserted in the Constitution, were among the essential conditions upon which the Federal Government was organized. If the African slave trade had not been permitted to continue for twenty years, if it had not been conceded that three-fifths of the slaves should be counted in the apportionment of representatives in Congress, if it had not been agreed that fugitives from service should be returned to their owners, the Thirteen States would not have been able in 1787 ‘to form a more perfect union.’ These adjustments in the Constitution were effected after the Congress of the old Confederation had dedicated the entire Northwest Territory to freedom. The ancient commonwealth of Virginia had, for the good of all, generously and patriotically surrendered her title to the great country north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi, which today constitutes five prosperous and powerful states and a not inconsiderable portion of a sixth. This was the first territory of which the general government had exclusive control, and the prompt prohibition of slavery therein by the Ordinance of 1787 is an important and significant fact. The ante-slavery restriction would doubtless have been applied to the territory south of the Ohio had the power existed to impose it. The founders of the government not only looked to the speedy extinction of slavery, but they especially abhorred the idea of a geographical line, with freedom decreed on one side, and slavery established on the other. But the territory south of the Ohio belonged to the Southern States of the Union,—Kentucky to Virginia; Tennessee to North Carolina; Alabama and Mississippi to Georgia, with certain co-extensive claims put forward by South Carolina. When cessions of the Southern territory were made to the general government, the States owning it exacted in every case a stipulation that slavery should not be

prohibited. It thus came to pass that the Ohio river was the dividing line. North of it freedom was forever decreed. South of it slavery was firmly established. Within the limits of the Union as originally formed the slavery question had therefore been compromised, the common territory partitioned, and the Republic, half slave, half free, organized and sent forth upon its mission."—Blaine's *Twenty Years In Congress*.

Students of American history are as conversant, no doubt, with the formation of the Union as they are with the revolt of the Colonies and the coming into political existence of the Thirteen States. This chapter is begun, however, with the above quotation from "*Twenty Years In Congress*," by James G. Blaine, that, from reading this clear and terse language, it may be the more distinctly recalled how the States of the South had their beginning in the Union of States. North of the Ohio "freedom was forever decreed" and "south of it slavery was firmly established." The one section of the Union had become in a fact a free government, with government by the consent of the governed. The spirit of 1776, that of no taxation without representation, had come into actual political life. The States of the South, the other section, went forward upon the mission of master and slave, of free men and human chattels. The States north of the Ohio found their industrial and social conditions just what free government and free men may evolve. Continued in the system of chattel slavery, the States south of the Ohio saw the resultant growth of the slave holding power reaching into every relation and condition of Southern life. In the North the industrial conditions, and the natural result of its free environments, developed the steady supremacy of popular government and the rise of a statesmanship close to the hearts and homes of the whole people. The government of the States of the South was dominated by "foremost citizens" of what had come to be a slave holding aristocracy. The citizen of the ante-bellum South who was not a member of the slave holding regime was in evidence neither in political nor social life. Even the old-time plantation darkey, the chattel slave, breathed from the master the lofty spirit of disdain for the common herd and the slave gave expression to this sentiment of superiority by reference to the common whites as "poor white trash." The

ordinary white, without slaves, was practically a mere political camp follower of the slave holding lord of immense agricultural possessions. The poorer whites who had cast their lots immediately about the princely holdings of the slave owner were as much a nonentity, were as pliant to the domineering decrees of the slave master, as were the slave subservient and acquiescent to the orders of the slave driver. The aristocracy of slave owning wealth was the dominant and the domineering influence in church and state. The pulpit and the press, the law-making and the law-executing powers, had behind them the motor power, the driving wheel, the controlling sentiment of the slave holding regime. In no free government, in name, had a distinct class so entrenched its hold upon governing authority and no oligarchy ever came into existence in, as alleged, a "land of the free and home of the brave" that held tighter grip upon the weal or woe of the whole people and their destinies. After reading pages to follow it will be seen whether or not the Southern "democracy" has been, in the historic years passing, any the less disposed to yield its tenacious hold upon the throat of the Southland, so long subjected to the reign of the bourbon political despotism.

True it is that prior to the great civil war there was developing, here and there, a tendency of independence among the masses and immigration brought to some of these States south of the Ohio many men inclined to revolt and particularly in the mountain counties of Kentucky, Tennessee and Alabama there were those who hoped for disenthralment from the dictatorial reign of bourbonism. These men of the common people, and here and there a more thoughtful and sane slave owner, were not so yielding to the arrogant domination of the slave holding oligarchy. It was from the hearts and homes of these brave men that emanated opposition to and protest against the revolutionary and fiery movement of secession, that was precipitated by the slave controlling interests, and be it to the credit of these brave and patriotic men, who dared to aspire to a true democracy, that their contentions and expressions for just principles was the planting of the seed from which has sprung a strong growth of sentiment for popular government until now there are thousands in the South who are come to believe that real democracy means that the people shall rule and that an actual dem-

ocrat is one who insists that a fair and honest ballot should be inviolate in their hands. The power of the oligarchy over the whole people of Alabama was not so strong, in fact, at the verge of the war of the Rebellion, for the managers of the secession cause dared not to refer the Ordinance of Secession back to the people for ratification. The putting of Alabama out of the Union was by a method that is tainted with the usual shadow of political force hovering over the achievements of the leaders who have, more than once, brought question and dishonor to the name of the so-called "democracy" of the South. Secession by Alabama was not, indeed, popular expression of the public will at the time. The fiery and adroit appeals to the masses finally worked up the people to indulgence in this radical course. Strange it may appear that the system of chattel slavery in the South should produce a political condition in which the 500,000 slave owners dictated to and dominated over the 7,500,000 whites of this section at that time. Strange it is, but passing strange will it become, when further looking into this Southern condition, to realize that the great masses of the South have not yet been aroused and delivered from the political serfdom into which they fell before the yoke of servitude was taken from the necks of the humble blacks.

CHAPTER II.

THE POLITICAL SOUTH AT PRESENT.

The present political South is the progeny of the old political South. The war of the Rebellion wrought the change from the South of chattel slavery; it abolished this pernicious institution and wiped out the viper of secession, which preyed upon the body politic, but there is prevalent today a slavery of disfranchisement by State Constitutional subterfuge and a system of peonage by the chicanery of employing legislative enactment and there yet obtains the same defiant spirit characteristic of the slave owning aristocracy—the despotism of reign or ruin, of dominate or destroy! It is alive in the old leaders of the slave owning oligarchy, many of them present leaders—and this sentiment is bred in many of their sons—that theirs is the God-given right to control, and to “boss,” and that the maintenance of their power, by whatever recourse under high heaven, is justifiable and “politics!” To the extent that the slave holding oligarchy found palliation, through its pulpit and press, for holding the colored race in servitude, just so does this progeny of the slave owning aristocracy now endeavor to exonerate and excuse their political usurpation and their theft of political authority. Their recent turning from the manipulation of elections returns and outrages at the ballot box to domination by the shrewdness of Constitutional trickery, and the divers other “legalized” methods known only to and characteristic only of the Southern alleged “democracy,” is an intended salve to ease strictured consciences and, also, a cloak by which the hope is had that the real political depravity of this regime of now may be to some extent disguised and the wrath of a righteous national public sentiment thereby avoided.

The negro in slavery was subservient, humble, burden-bearing, ignorant. To the master he was as property. He was treated as such by the slave-driver. The slave was housed, clothed in a manner, and fed. So was the work-horse housed, harnessed and driven; the negro slave and the working horse each being treated with as much humane consideration as the

other. The lash was applied to both. The black child was sold from the black "mammy" just as was the colt sold from the mare. In the opinion of the many who held slaves it was wrong to permit any intellectual growth upon the part of the slave and the law made it criminal to teach a negro to read or to write. Such an enactment as this at least "graced" the penal code of Alabama. It has been related that in the South of slavery frequently an apt colored man who had stolen a knowledge to write suffered the loss of the fore-finger and the thumb from the right hand! Is it at all shocking that there is at present a governor of a Southern commonwealth who would declare: "I am just as much opposed to Booker Washington's, with all his Anglo-Saxon reinforcements, voting as I am to the voting by the cocoanut-headed, chocolate-colored, typical coon who blacks my boots?" Does it appear out of the reasonable trend of things that Mississippi should put a Vardaman in the highest position of state, the government there of today being but the offspring of its Jefferson Davis oligarchy of slavery of yesterday? Who can doubt that the expressions of Vardaman, uncloaked with any evasive sophistry and hypocrisy, is but the undisguised sentiment of the more discreet of the political type honoring him and to which he is a member in high rank? This man, opposing the education of the negro, is but constructed like one of those who, before him, took the knife and shorn the hand of the helpless slave of the fingers God had placed there to be directed by an educated and uplifted mind!

In the contemplation of chattel slavery not alone must there be considered the wrongs inflicted upon the oppressed blacks growing out of this inhumane institution. The hardships, suffering and wrongs heaped upon the blacks were terrible, but the institution of chattel slavery effected to bring about a condition by which whites of the South have come to endure a yoke of political serfdom and of political outrage beyond the power of language to portray. Popular government has become prostrate, the voice of the people in representative government has been silenced, and force, fraud and strategy has been enthroned. The strength of press and ministry, of law-making and law-executing authority has been thrown to the aiding and abetting of a political despotism that has employed every available agency, but the right, to fasten its hold upon the governing

power. The people of these Southern States have not been, from the beginning, the only sufferers because of the desperation of the leaders of the bourbon oligarchy. In their extremity of madness for domineering, the leaders of the oligarchy have reached the knife of rashness to the very heart of the nation and drawn its blood on more than one field. When the terms of re-entrance to the Union were accepted, even then these party conspirators against popular government, no sooner had they attained position in the grand old Union, commenced to execute designs by which the hands of the power of the oligarchies of the South might again be replaced to the throat of popular and representative government in the South and soon again other forms of revolution, and riot and reign of terror, were employed to hoist the political pillage of this regime upon the liberties and national rights of the masses in the states south of the Ohio. The present result of this reign of the bourbon oligarchy is that its injurious and spurious effects reaches so far into the welfare of the general government that whites North, as well as South, are coming to feel the poisonous sting of the bourbon "democracy" political serpent.

Ample illustration of the revolutionary temperament of the Southern "democracy" is afforded in the example of the Rebellion. That the spirit of govern or overthrow by force did not die when secession failed, that the determination to dominate is as strong now as then, it is only necessary to refer back to recent political events in some of these states during these years not long since gone. Violence and fraud was, seemingly, a pastime employed in the Reconstruction era, but we find that crimes against the ballot have been just as brazenly perpetrated when these oracles of the Southern "democracy" were not called upon to count out and to intimidate "carpet baggers" and "niggers." The theft of the governorship of Alabama from Hon. R. F. Kolb, a native Southerner and an ex-Confederate soldier, demonstrated indisputably the fact that the oligarchy is resolved not to yield political control and that no one except an agreed upon member of the regime shall be permitted to be elected to office in the States which they fasten down with hooks of daring despotism. Captain Kolb had been permitted to be elected to the office of Commissioner of Agriculture of Alabama by the "democracy," but the leaders of the machine rebelled against his

ambition for higher place. Popular before the people, more so than any man of his party in his time, the masses favored his aspirations and encouraged his candidacy for governor; and the white counties favored his nomination and he secured the delegations to the state convention. He was "figured out" there. He made his appeal to the electorate. The result was that the "democracy" was "saved" by immensely padded returns from the sixteen black belt counties in Alabama populated largely by blacks and that enormous fictitious majorities, from these counties, were employed to overcome and to annul the majorities honestly polled by the whites in the forty-five white counties of the State—counties populated almost exclusively by whites. Returns were recorded for the "democracy" from black belt precincts where the polls were not in reality opened and where the formality of an election was dispensed with. Upon the day of the "official" count the majority of votes for Kolb were scaled down in the white counties, where the "democracy" controlled the returning boards, by the throwing out of the vote of many precincts voting Kolb majorities and this was necessary to overcome the revolt against the machine even though the black belt had already "done its duty." There is not an informed man in Alabama who will not, perhaps, confess to the election of Kolb in 1892 by a tremendous majority. The supporters of the Kolb ticket were mocked at and defied. The bourbon leaders boastfully asserted: "Yes, we counted you out and we will do it again, if necessary, and what are you going to do about it?"

The present Populist candidate for President, Hon. Thomas E. Watson, had an experience in congressional politics in his district not very much unlike the gubernatorial campaign and election experience of Captain Kolb. The ballot box stuffers of Richmond county, Georgia, so much overdid it, however, that Mr. Watson's opponent was compelled by the notoriety of the steal to become ashamed to accept the so open-handed stolen political goods. When the election managers of Richmond county, the one black belt county of the Congressional district, employed to annul the votes of the other several white counties voting majorities for Mr. Watson, these men were counting out a native Georgian who is the peer in intellect of any man living or that has ever lived in that commonwealth. His honesty of

purpose and his patriotic intent has only been equaled by his superb courage in standing out against the organized body of political highwaymen in his district and State who have robbed him and his fellow citizens of their manhood rights.

But why recount these political outrages? Who is it that does not remember the election of Hon. H. Clay Evans to the governorship of Tennessee in 1894 and how he was defrauded by the "official" count when the face of the returns showed his election, even after the election had been one of highhanded corruption and fraud upon the part of the "democracy" in the counties of the black belt of that State where the unscrupulous ballot box stuffer could "get in his work." The history of Goebelism in Kentucky is not ancient history, either, and the nagging of a free people there to almost desperation, because of the revolutionary acts of the oligarchy, forms a chapter not soon to be forgotten. The "democracy" has much to say of the murder of Goebel, but it overlooks the crime of raping "the goddess of liberty" of which he, and his cohorts, were guilty. Years will not efface from the name of this State of governmental outlawry, parading in the cloak of "democracy," the shame and disgrace brought upon this commonwealth. If Goebel were assassinated, lynched, or what not, is it not "democracy" to meet out summary punishment for unspeakable crime? Why, then, this horror of "democracy" that the "democracy's" own has come home to them?

Is this a government of free men? Is there not such a thing as the sovereignty of the people and the nationality of the citizen? It is said by the patriotic orator upon the national forum that this land is not a despotism governed by a king, but a republic in which every citizen is a sovereign. What citizen has the right, then, to deny to another a right he demands for himself? The ballot is the scepter of our sovereign citizens' kingly authority. It is the source of our governing power. To strike down the ballot, therefore, is to strike a blow at America's only king. It is treason to our republican form of government. It is insult to the nationality of the citizen, it is treason to the nation! Does not the republic owe it to itself and do not its free men owe it to the republic to protect to every citizen his right by reason of his sovereignty and his nationality? Native white men of the South, men with blue eyes and straight hair,

have had their ballots thrown out, annulled, miscounted. Majorities have been overridden, scoffed at! The great mass of voters in the South have been dashed back into sullen silence and into hopeless acquiescence and, under present conditions, they are as helpless as are the blacks upon whose necks the bourbon heel was long since pressed.

Why nominate State and Congressional candidates to oppose this regime? Their past record justifies the assertion that these oligarchists would hold elections in hogsheads and stuff the ballots in with pile drivers, and then swear to the returns; and, further, the local courts would be no terror to their overt acts, this course being "necessary" to uphold their particular brand of "white supremacy." Candidates for Congress who oppose the oligarchy are counted out and denied the certificate of election and forced, if seated, to inaugurate an expensive contest and frequently the taking of the testimony is attendant with the risk of one's life. The price is too great. The experiences of Hon. William F. Aldrich, of the Fourth Alabama district, the facts being upon records of Congress, bear out this conclusion. Three times elected, three times counted out, three times seated upon contests, one time held up at the point of drawn weapons to accommodate his opponent, who took this occasion to inflict bodily punishment upon him,—these are not at all pleasant enough experiences to inspire many men to espouse the cause of good government in the South. Yet, there are those who advocate "letting the South alone" and leaving to the oligarchists of the South "the adjustment of these local conditions!" There is but one peaceful recourse for rightful settlement of this suffrage situation in the States of the South. That recourse is for the nation to protect to every citizen his national rights when infringed upon by the powers dominating the State. The prolonging of the meeting this issue is but leaving to the people of the States of the South the other possible resort to desperate measures, which public sentiment will not sustain and which step conservative men will not pursue or advise. Astute indeed is the appeal that comes up from these oligarchists to be permitted to go their own way in their own methods. These men are not pleading for "the South," they are begging for themselves. The liberties of the masses South are crushed beneath the feet of these tyrants, whose prating hypocrisy does

not voice the will of the oppressed of this section. This appeal by the bourbon oligarchy goes upward to the North at a time, also, when the "democracy" South seeks to engraft itself upon the general government to the extent that the padded "democratic" South may fasten its hold upon the nation precisely as it has upon the States of the South.

CHAPTER III.

THE BACKING BEHIND THE OLIGARCHY.

The real backing behind the oligarchy controlling the States of the South, when disclosed, may be plainly seen to be the machine, the shell, the "loaded dice," not the masses of the people. It is a characteristic of the cunning and shrewd "democracy" to speak of itself as "the South." Let it be seen right here what part does the "democracy" consume of this scope of space and breadth of area they pretend to fill. The State of South Carolina is a "shining" example. The "democracy" of the State of B. R. Tillman sent to the Congress in the election of 1902 its entire delegation of seven members upon a combined "democratic" vote of 29,343. The total vote returned for all candidates was 32,185. The white voting population is 130,374. The total voting population of the State is 283,325. The fact is evident from this showing that the white vote of South Carolina is not in evidence as supporting the oligarchy in this State. There is a "taking to the woods" of the masses of whites, to say nothing whatever of the colored voting population that is cowed down and terror stricken into voiceless pathos. Might a colored man dare to speak for his rights under the Constitution of the Republic in a State where it is not dared, except to meet the assassin's bullet, for the white editor of a great daily newspaper to cry out against a dishonorable condition and as equally bad state of deviltry leadership? This situation is quite sufficient to halt the self-respecting citizen of the North from allying himself with a "democracy" South such as lives and has its being in South Carolina. If "democracy" means that the people shall rule, then what is the "democratic" party in South Carolina? The editor who dares to become the defender of real democracy must be borne to the tomb. The voter who may cast a ballot to establish republican government is counted out. The republican who dares to speak out for it is "an enemy to the South" and "a foe to white supremacy." The whole vote of the "democ-

racism" degenerate State of South Carolina, for all electoral tickets in 1900, was but 50,815.

Mississippi leads the van of the oligarchical governments of the South, and her "favored son," Hon. John Sharpe Williams, seated himself in the Congress in 1902 upon a vote of 1,433. No opposition—of course not! Who would oppose anything or anybody "democratic" in Mississippi? One Mississippi member "broke into congress" in the election of 1902 with the mere handful of 1,146 votes. Of course this was all that was "necessary." The entire delegation from the State of Mississippi was elected to Congress upon a combined vote of 18,058. This State has a white voting population of 150,922, the total voting population being 349,177. From "democracy" to oligarchy, from oligarchy to Vardaman is the Mississippi situation. What a condition!

The great State of Alabama may challenge comparison with these two States, perhaps, for the oligarchy has done "what it could" for "white supremacy." The total number of males of voting age in Alabama is 232,294 whites and 181,471 blacks, making, in all, 413,862. Alabama's oligarchy polled, in the gubernatorial election of 1902, 67,649 "democratic" ballots for governor and there is a vote of 24,190 accredited to the republican candidate. There were 2,980 colored citizens permitted to register and participate in this election.

As compared with the congressional districts in States of the North, the Southern method is an easy road to Congress when traveled by the oligarchist representative. In the XIth Ohio district, represented by Mr. Grosvenor, there were 42,611 ballots cast for both candidates for Congress. This is only 24,233 more ballots than were required to elect the entire Mississippi delegation. Mr. Grosvenor received 28,124, while it required only 1,433 votes to seat Mr. Williams. Mr. Cannon, of the XVIIIth Illinois district, received 22,941 ballots in 1902, while his democratic opponent received 15,254 ballots, and the prohibition candidate in Mr. Cannon's district makes a showing of 1,166 ballots. The prohibition candidate appears to lead Mr. Williams in getting out his followers to the polls. In the Xth Indiana district, represented by Mr. Crumpacker, the vote for all congressional candidates, in 1902, was 46,158 or 13,973 more ballots than were polled for the entire South Carolina delega-

tion. Thus it does seem that the real backing behind the oligarchy of the States of the South is not such as to entitle the leaders of this regime to arrogate to themselves the spokesman-ship for "the South" and to assume to themselves the speaking of public sentiment of and for the actual South.

The bourbon "democracy" of the South, with its "white supremacy" shell, is but a whited sepulchre of political pretension. It may endeavor to whitewash itself without, but within it is full of the decayed bones of a secession "democracy" and the tainted garments of a corrupt oligarchy. Posing as the keepers of the ark of the covenant of "white supremacy," these oligarchists have usurped the government of the States of the South from whites and blacks. The bourbon regime finally took the loaded political black belt dice with which to encompass the overthrow of the uprising of whites in rebellion against the "democratic" machine. The movement of this political despotism is now Northward. To the Southland the oligarchy has accomplished its height of political oppression. Its despotism is supreme. Popular government is here buried in the mire of bourbonism and only a Vardaman could pile on more political filth. Shall rights of men of the North be further invaded and encroached upon and become, sooner or later, so poisoned with political pollution as has become the South?

The apportionment prior to the civil war, conceding to the South three-fifths of the slave population to be counted in the representation basis, then made three slaves South equal to five whites North in the general government. The present status of the oligarchists is the usurpation of the representation of all blacks and a majority of whites and the leaders of the minority regime of force and fraud, while denying the suppressed vote any voice in the government of the States, insist upon it as right that the North should permit the oligarchists to misrepresent this immense population in the affairs of the republic. The negro is taxed, but is not a voter in state or national elections. The "democracy" claims that it would be taxation without representation to cut down "the South's" representation in the general government! Is it that these leaders of this reprehensible condition believe that they can fool part of the North all the time? How long will the patience of a patriotic people, who gave to the nation a Lincoln and a Grant, be so trifled with?

The method by which the "democratic" oligarchy fastens its hold upon the "democratic" machine in Alabama, and the condition is the same in other Southern states, is the basing of the representation in the conventions of the party and in the Alabama legislature upon an apportionment embracing the disfranchised blacks in the black belt counties and thereby prohibiting the control of the party or the legislature by the white counties of the states. Tallapoosa county, in Alabama, with a white registered vote of 4,006 has only two members in the House and $\frac{1}{2}$ senator, it requiring a district of this and one other white county to name a senator, while the black belt county of Lowdnes, in the same congressional district, with a white registered vote of 1,061, has two members in the House and one state senator! There are not more than twenty-five registered colored voters in Tallapoosa county and only about fifty colored registered voters in Lowdnes. In "democratic" conventions in Alabama Tallapoosa county has seven votes and Lowdnes eleven. Thus it is apparent how and why the strength and the supremacy of the black belt oligarchy, even within the lines of the boasted party of "white supremacy."

CHAPTER IV.

THE DEMOCRATIC RACE ISSUE.

It is the endeavor of the leaders of the "democracy" in the South to have it appear to the North that the soul issue of paramount importance to the South is the alleged race issue. Much talking, and more editorial matter, is indulged in concerning the "necessity" of preserving the domination of the "democracy" in behalf of the "white supremacy." It requires votes to win with in elections, where conditions permit votes of sufficient number to win, and to win the majority of votes South in opposition to the "democracy" must come from Southern whites. The "democracy" pretends to speak for "the South" and yet this oligarchy, without the votes of a majority of whites, is the self-esteemed only preserver of good government and the interests of whites of the South. The inference is to be had that the oligarchy is apprehensive that if they permit the majority of whites to control that the states of the South will post haste be "black supremacy" and terrible to contemplate! Why this distrust of the Southern white people? From Mississippi, where the negro is without any voice whatever in government, most is heard about the jeopardy of "white supremacy." There arises from Mississippi an amazing tirade of abuse of the negro and the onslaught upon him is terrific. Just how the "white supremacy" of the oligarchy may be affected in Mississippi by the negro is beyond understanding, for the ballot is solely in the hands of whites and the machinery of elections is absolutely in the control of the oligarchy. The governor of this state is not only opposed to the negro being permitted to vote, but he as vehemently insists that the colored man should not be educated. It will be recalled that the opposition to the Blair Educational bill came from the representatives in Congress from the South and the measure was rejected because it would help the education of blacks in the South and, furthermore, hasten the awakening of illiterate whites to their political thralldom. One member of Congress from Alabama opposed Federal aid to education upon the grounds that education caused the white farmer boy to

get too proud to work in the sun and turned him from the plantation ! Deep down behind this sophistry the real reason lay. It has always been the spirit of bourbonism to suppress the possibilities arising before the poorer whites of the South and to beat them backward instead of aiding them onward. Yet it was the poor whites of the South who were forced to the front in the war of secession and did the principal battling; the Confederate State of Alabama, with other States South, having passed an act exempting from conscription for service in the war the large holder of chattel slaves ! To now inflame these poor whites again to further subservience to the oligarchy, vulgar abuse of President Roosevelt is indulged in, by Mississippi leaders especially, and the election of President Roosevelt, it is declared by the whole " democratic " Southern press, means the putting of the negro over whites. This is not done that it is needful now to keep the negro down, but because it is determined as essential to the plans of keeping the oligarchy up. The President has pursued the policy of President McKinley in the matter of Southern appointments except that he has seen fit to appoint certain democrats to positions in the South. It appears that the oligarchy deems it necessary to create great furor upon the negro question that either they may bolster up their regimes or else force the present President to turn over the whole Federal patronage to the advocates of the " democratic " race issue in the South.

There is no movement possible upon the part of the disfranchised negroes of Mississippi to be elected to office or to capture the government of the commonwealth. Although the Hon. John Sharpe Williams is advocating this general government giving the right of representative government to the Phillipine natives, yet his appeals in this regard have not, as yet, aroused or " inflamed " the colored citizens of Mississippi to beseech him to lead a movement in behalf of the rights of more capable colored men nearer home. The Mississippi oligarchy is apparently safe and secure, as far as the manipulation of the electorate is concerned, and the mere handful of voters have it all to themselves. This eternal and unceasing wail about the " nigger, " however, continues to go up and appeals to the passions of the lawless are made until the incited to vengeance white mob

shoots the convicted victim of crime as he stands between the courts and the gallows.

The race issue in national campaigns is brought into play by the Southern "democracy" for purely partisan usage and this usage is a cowardly sham to turn the voter North from clear insight into the real suffrage condition South as it really and vitally effects not only the liberties of whites South, but, also, the suffrage rights of whites North. The extent of this race issue in Mississippi is that the negro is employed by the oligarchy as a political scape-goat and that he, in his unfortunate condition, is employed to condone and to cloak the political rascality of those who usurp the control of government from both whites and blacks.

This unending imposition upon the whites of the South and this political treatment of the colored race of the South, upon the part of the "democracy," is to be censured in the strongest language. How wonderful it is that whites are so misused and aroused beyond reason to the extent that the welfare of their homes and their liberties are invaded as the consequence of this Southern misgovernment now dominant solely by reason of this imaginary "democratic" race issue? How strange it is that Southern white men will become crazed with passion and in certain localities become a band of murderers because of a purely "democratic" race issue sentiment that appeals to supposed conditions absolutely inexistent? The manner in which wrong doing by an individual member of the colored race is taken up to arouse popular sentiment adverse to the whole race is unjust and without any palliation. It is cruel, it is shameful, to visit the crime of one upon all. It is infamous to so ingeniously work up the sentiment of lawlessness as against the colored race to the wide-spread extent that this inflamed feeling reaches out and finds formation in mobs and goes further to the extremity of resulting in death to the innocent because of the crime of the guilty. There is a race issue to this extent in the South and this was demonstrated not many weeks ago in Georgia when the thirst for vengeance against the whole race led to the shooting of an old colored man as he sat, harming no one, in his own humble cabin home. Then, perhaps, there may be found something of a race issue, in fact, to the extent that the rule of the oligarchy in Alabama, and other Southern States, has developed

the system of peonage, when the old oligarchy of slavery thought not of other forms of servitude than chattel slavery. In chattel slavery, however, the submissive blacks slept in the cabin unchained, in peonage they are housed in the chain-gang stockade.

There were, by census reports, 57,310 white prisoners in the United States in 1890, while the number of blacks were 24,277. It appears that both races supply violators of law. It is true, however, that the offenses of the colored race are not to as great extent of a grave order of crime as newspapers South would have it believed. The larger number of offenses are of little moment as compared to the crimes of whites and, considering that there are now 9,312,585 colored persons in the United States, the number imprisoned is not so bad a showing for a people out of bondage, with their poor opportunities and environments. There are whites, as well as blacks, who commit horrible acts of violence. White men hold up trains and blow up banks. Mobs are not incited, however, to shoot down whites indiscriminately. Neither is the whole white race damned by adverse public opinion because of the sin of the white individual. It is not true of the colored race, unfortunately for them and for the efforts of those among this race who strive, amid difficulties known only to God and them, to raise the standard of their people. The "democratic" race issue is most uncharitable in that lawlessness of the lawless is visited upon the struggles of the many to elevate and to uplift to higher and loftier standard of citizenship. No people look with more horror to the results of the awful crime of rape than the better element and the predominating members of this race and they keenly feel that the committing of this crime by some one brutal member of this race puts an intolerant burden of race hate upon all. Their leaders and preachers are crying out against this crime, which, although seldom it may occur, is heralded far and wide and brings hardships to all this people.

There is much to be said for the negro of the South that is not denunciatory. Henry W. Grady knew this and he gave utterance to these facts. It is not necessary here to recount the wonderful progress of this people but a few years ago in servitude. It is needless to tell how the chattel slave, illiterate and in poverty, turned his career to the life of a free man. Beginning in ignorance and want, he has risen to education, to prop-

erty and to usefulness. The cabin of the slave has produced one of the world's greatest personages now upon the arena of life. Colored homes, colored farms, colored schools, colored churches, colored banks, colored stores, colored teachers, colored doctors, colored lawyers,—this is evidence that this race has not been wholly in idleness and depravity! Not of inflammatory disposition, the black man guarded and cared for the homes of those of the whites absent fighting to keep him in servitude. He raised supplies on the black belt farms to go forward to feed the men struggling on the battle field to keep him in chattel slavery. Out of his taxes today are taken funds to pay pensions to the Confederate soldiers who fought to overcome the benefactors of his race. These black men are not members of any newspaper-correspondent created "Before Day Club" and the South knows this creation of fiction is an infamy and a slander. These men are not terrors to representative government nor to the South. They are not considered by the people of the South, whose opinions are entitled to respect, as a menace to the state or nation. Their labor made the wealth and really sustained the homes of the old slave-holding aristocracy. Their toil is today contributing much to the wealth and to the happiness of Southern homes. The true white men of the South are not such political cowards that they fear the domination of this people as is pretended by the "democratic" press. It is shameful, it is disgraceful, to make this race the "democratic" foot ball for the gratification of political spleen and the venting of partisan rancor. It is a sin, before God, to so enlarge upon the crimes of the few to the injury of all. It is unpardonable to so persecute an humble race that there may be sought to hide behind the flood of abuse heaped upon it the political chicanery of a governing regime that is fat with despotism and with fraud.

Social equality as between the races is the esteemed strongest string upon the "democratic" race issue harp. An unceasing cry goes up from the mouths of these leaders of the regime of oligarchism about their "awful" pretended apprehensions that themselves and their families may be compelled to associate with a "nigger." It is known of all men that the law of this republic has nothing whatever to say or do with any man's selection of his personal associations. This is entirely with the individual. For that matter, there is not such a thing as social

equality among the whites in this country. Just why the recognition by the President of the attainments of the greatest leader of the colored race, at a White House luncheon, should be so shocking to the sensibilities of some is explained, perhaps, upon the theory that this act upon the part of the President was considered as legitimate, when the only type of social equality traceable in some places in the South is of the productive form of "illegitimate." Whatever be the form or the section in which it exists, social equality as between the white and black races is a matter of personal will and not of national legislation. Judge Parker and other Northern democrats may commune in church on Sundays with colored members, but little is said in Southern newspapers of what others than President Roosevelt may feel inclined as a matter of individual right to do. The election of either Parker or Roosevelt will have no effect upon social equality as between the races, but "democratic" success may effect social equality to the extent that the soup house may again come into necessity and bring to a social level the usual number of jobless men of which a "democratic" administration is wonderfully overproductive and upon this plane both whites and blacks have met both South and North.

CHAPTER V.

CONCLUSION.

That method of political fortification by intimidation and coercion and that characteristic of election manipulation, bred by the conditions consequent from the springing up of a South of slave-holding aristocracy, is a living and daring force today. The institution of chattel slavery poisoned the every branch of governmental institutions of the South. The pernicious system produced industrial and social conditions the inevitable consequence of which was the formation of a slave owning aristocracy and as a natural result the growth of a slave holding oligarchy. That the 500,000 slave owners could plunge the South into secession and drench the nation in blood is no paragon of wonder when we weigh present conditions with this situation of the past.

Reference has been made to the bourbon oligarchy of the three states of Alabama, South Carolina and Mississippi. Observe that the entire population of these three states, according to the last census, is 4,720,283 and yet the combined vote for the "democratic" delegations to the Congress in 1902 is but 115,475. The whole vote accredited to all candidates for Congress from these states is but 175,435. To total voting population of these three states is 1,046,364. The white voting population alone is 513,591. The total voting population being 1,046,364 and the combined vote of the three states for the "democratic" delegations to the Congress being 115,475, it is apparent that the "democracy" in these commonwealths was without the ballots of 930,889 persons of voting age in support of their cause in this congressional election. The white voting population being 513,591, and the vote polled being 115,475, it is evident that 398,116 whites of voting age were not "democratic" participators in this voting. These three states of an entire population of 4,720,283, with a polled and governing vote of 115,475, are representative of the general prevalent condition in the present South of political intolerance.

Just preceding the civil war, for a Southern citizen to

declare himself as opposed to secession was then to be branded as "an enemy to the South." The word "traitor" finally became a rather mild epithet compared with other terms applied to the calm and conservative citizen who deplored the rash and rancorous course of those making way for plunging the nation in war. As it was then, it is now, for the pressure of intolerance and of abuse lashes the masses and coerces them further and further into submission to as merciless a dictatorship as ever dwarfed a state or silenced popular government. To protest now against the methods of this regime is to invite a torrent of wrathful censure and to turn loose the flood-gates of terrific assault from prostituted papers. The motive is to crush out and to annihilate any formidable opposition of zealous leadership that rises up to "a source of annoyance to the peace and harmony of the state!" Under this condition of usurped power it is often that "reptiles may crawl to heights where eagles can not soar." It is not strange, then, that the solidity of this fortified reign of fraud may throw every branch of its governing authority to protect and bolster up its existence.

At this time the extreme bourbon press of the South is insisting that the continuing in office of President Roosevelt means the enforcing upon the South, or an effort to do so, of social equality as between whites and blacks. President Roosevelt is even denounced as "an inflamer of the negro" by many of the "representative" newspapers of the "democracy" in the South. The national "democracy" could have added nothing in the campaign book to the campaign of slander and vilification that has been waged upon President Roosevelt by the Southern "democracy" and certainly it was not needed to place any personal attacks in this book in order to arouse abuse of this great leader. Of course it is avowed that Southern white men who support President Roosevelt and the republican cause are "enemies to the South." Appealing to low prejudices, distorting of facts, miscounting and over-counting ballots—this is the democratic aptitude. There is no high-planed discussion by the "democracy" of the actual issues really effecting the welfare of the Southern people and the campaign is pitched upon the same low lines of crafty procedure, with very much parallel appeals, as has been the custom in every presidential canvass since the civil war.

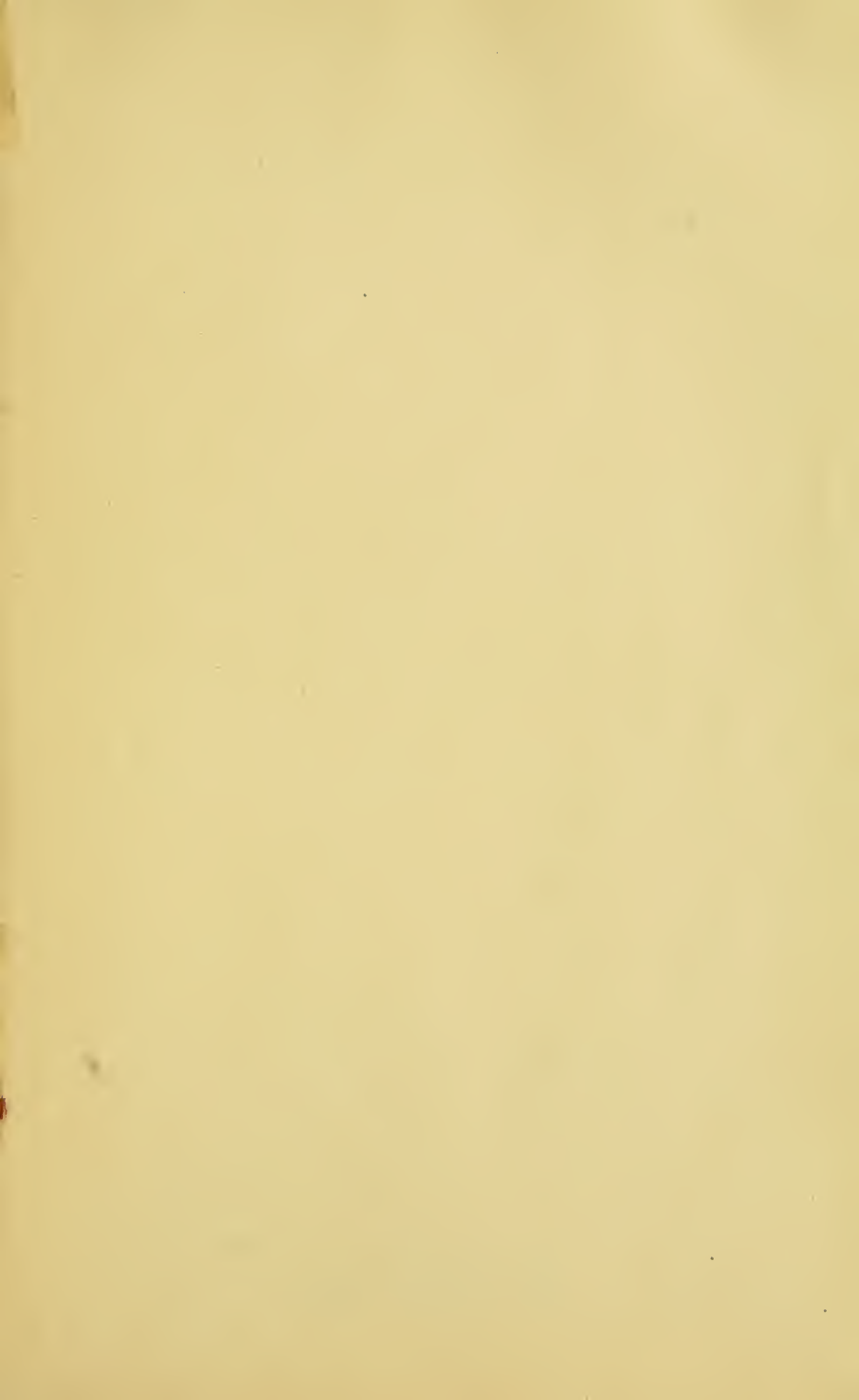
That the great mass of voters North, that the great body of citizenship of the general government, are prepared to permit the national "democracy" of which the Southern oligarchy is the dominating influence, to come into charge of the national affairs and to lower the national standard of political morals and methods to that of the state of the South can not, for a moment, be feared. A check to the inflammatory "democracy" of this section has been the continuance of the republican party in authority. Administration of the Federal courts of the South by others than the peonage and kuklux sympathizers has had substantial effect as a restraining influence. It would be unfortunate indeed, at this time, for the "red shirt" advocates of "democracy" to come into charge of the Federal Department of Justice affairs in the South in addition to the dangerous hold they now have upon the states of the South. Dark would be the day for the forlorn blacks who would fall entirely to the baneful prey of the advocates of the "democratic" race issue in the South, especially in Mississippi and South Carolina.

It is exacting too onerous a submission to compel the continuous yielding of the great masses of whites to the insidious control of this force and fraud-entrenched despotism. It is nurturing accumulating wrongs for the nation to avoid intercession when and where only national interference can restore and uplift the beaten down nationality of the Southern citizen. The humble blacks have rebelled not, nor sought violent rebellion, against those who have deprived them of their sovereignty rights, but, upon one occasion, the murderings of outraged whites in Alabama has caused to be brought, in recent years, the armed soldiery of the oligarchy to quiet the wrath of the masses of the people who had gathered at the very doors of the state capitol and even then and there reluctant to yield to further usurpation by the "democracy." The unrest of another Southern state reached a more dramatic climax. There would be no entreating, by those from whom the appeal comes, to "let the South alone" were it not for the political treachery of these leaders, themselves, to this very, very, same Southland.

In an address delivered by the Hon. John Hay, July 6th, this year, he said: "If the slave holders had been content with their unquestioned predominance, they might for many years have controlled the political and social world. It was natural

for the conservative people of the North to say; 'we deplore the existence of slavery, but we are all to bame for it; we should not cast upon our brother in the South the burdens and perils of its abolition. We must bear with the unfortunate conditions of things and take our share of its inconveniences.' But the slave holding party could not rest content. The ancients said that madness was the fate of those judged by the gods. Continual aggression is the necessity of a false position. They felt instinctively that if their system were permanently to endure it must be extended, and to attain this object they were ready to risk everything. They rent in twain the compromises which had protected them so long. They tore down the bulwarks which had once restricted and defended them; and confiding in their strength and our patience they boldly announced and inaugurated the policy of indefinite extension of their "peculiar institution."

Again, in their madness of political desperation, the leaders of the "democracy" South now instinctively feel "that if their system were permanently to endure it must be extended, and to attain this object they were ready to risk everything."



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